DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 307 910 JC 890 269

TITLE	Leadership at All Levels. Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges, 1989.
INSTITUTION	American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C. American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges.
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	43p.
AVAILABLE FROM	American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges Mail Service, 2907 N. Main St., Anderson, SC 29621 ($3.00).
PUB TYPE	Viewpoints (120) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges; 1989
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrators; Blacks; Codes of Ethics; *College Presidents; Community Colleges; *Females; Feminism; *Leadership Styles; Legal Problems; Poverty; School Policy; *Sex Differences; Sex Discrimination; Two Year Colleges; *Women Faculty
IDENTIFIERS	Sexual Relationships; *Women Administrators

ABSTRACT

The 1989 issue of the Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges focuses on the leadership role of women at all organizational levels of the two-year college. It includes the following articles: (1) "Gender Issues and Community College Leadership," by Carolyn Desjardins, which speculates that the recently emerging trend toward more humane leadership styles might be due in part to the presence of more women in administrative positions in higher education; (2) "Women, Higher Education, and the Psychology of Power," by Carol Berrey, which integrates feminist psychology, principles of modern management, and an insider's view of higher education; (3) "Cognitive Differences of Male and Female Administrators," by Ruth H. Doyle and Barbara Mueller, which reviews gender differences in administrators' perception and use of symbols, cultural determinants, and modalities of inference; (4) "Perspectives on Leadership and Black Women Presidents," by JoAnn Bradley, Patricia Carey, and Evelyn Whitaker, which presents findings from a survey of 15 black women college presidents; (5) "Developing a Policy Approach to Professionally Appropriate Faculty/Student Sexual Relations on Community College Campuses," by Doric Little, which considers the legal and policy implications of sexual relationships between students and faculty; (6) "The Feminization of (American) Poverty," by Janet K. (Weir) Garza, which reviews statistics on poverty and argues that education and skills development can break the cycle of poverty for women. (ALB)

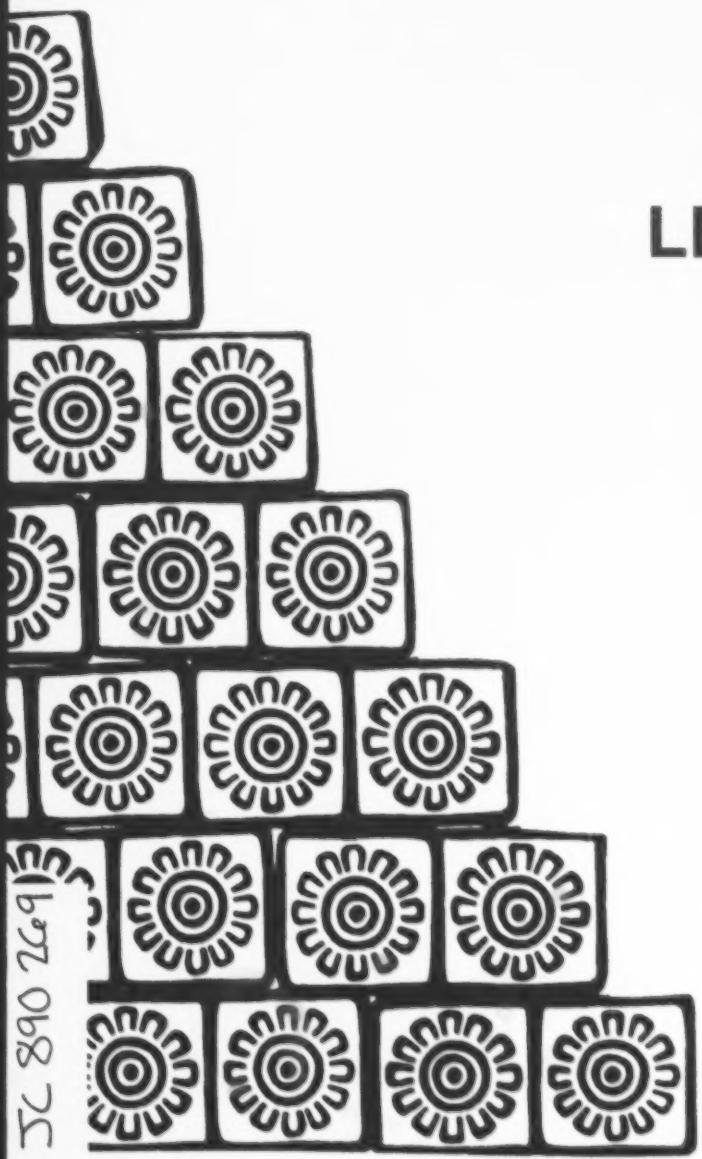
ED307910

1989

JOURNAL

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

Fifteenth Anniversary Issue



LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

L. G. Sullivan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JC 890 269

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Leila González Sullivan

Vice President for Communications, AAWCJC, and Editor in Chief; Hudson County Community College, Jersey City, NJ

Ms. Ann Brand

St. Louis Community College at Florissant Valley, St. Louis, MO

Dr. Betty Jones

Delta College, University Center, MI

Dr. Judith Krom

Nyack College, Nyack, NY

Dr. Susan Rand Brown

Capital Region Community College District, Hartford, CT

Jewel Malafarina

Special Assistant to the Editorial Board

1989 Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 4
Jacquelyn Belcher, J.D., President, AAWCJC

Gender Issues and Community College Leadership 5
Carolyn Desjardins, Ph.D.

Women, Higher Education and the Psychology of Power 11
Carol Berrey, Ph. D.

Cognitive Differences of Male and Female Administrators 17
Ruth H. Doyle, Ed. D.
Barbara Mueller, Ph. D.

Perspectives on Leadership and Black Women Presidents 20
JoAnn Bradley, Ph. D.
Patricia Carey, Ed. D.
Evelyn Whitaker, M. S. W.

Developing a Policy Approach to Professionally Appropriate Faculty/Student Sexual Relations on Community College Campuses 26
Doric Little, Ed. D.

The Feminization of (American) Poverty 31
Janet K. Weir Garza, M. L. S.

Moment 37
Susan Dion

PREFACE

Equity and excellence are the two ideas upon which AAWCJC bases its philosophy. For our membership, equity means equal access to educational opportunities, to employment at all levels, and to policy and decision-making forums. And excellence — exemplary educational and professional performance — is the way to achieve equity.

To move toward these goals for our members and for all women in community and junior colleges, we must lead, not follow. And, make no mistake, leadership is an action word. Great ideas are not enough. The most important thing, that which distinguishes leaders from followers or nonparticipants, is the burning desire to realize, actualize, and build your great ideas, your VISION, into reality.

Action responses to issues must be imaginative, creative, and solid. Women can play a key role in their resolution. We need women leaders at all levels of the organization. *In today's Information Age, leadership positions for women are more possible than ever. With their sensitivity to the feelings and needs of others, women naturally emerge today as viable candidates for leadership roles. Thus, women's socialization has endowed them with basic leadership skills for the kind of interpersonal relationships and decision-making today's community and junior colleges need.*

AAWCJC is committed to creating and nurturing opportunities for our members to learn, develop, and refine leadership skills, regardless of their place in their colleges' structures, and regardless of their levels of aspiration — administrators, faculty, support personnel, or students.

This juried journal provides one exemplary vehicle for women to showcase their talents and share their ideas. It is one of the many reasons the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges has, indeed, moved to a flagship position in defining and addressing women's issues.

Jacquelyn M. Belcher

President, AAWCJC

GENDER ISSUES AND COMMUNITY COLLEGE LEADERSHIP

Carolyn Desjardins, Ph. D.

A research study based on the theories of Kohlberg, Gilligan and McClelland reveals that the most effective male and female CEOs in community colleges operate out of a connectedness and care mode or moral orientation. This study appears to support the current move toward more humane leadership styles, a trend which might well be attributed to the presence of more women in high level positions in higher education.

While individual women have, throughout history, taken important leadership positions (ex. Joan of Arc, Cleopatra, Marie Curie, Golda Meir), it is only recently that large numbers of women have moved into leadership positions in a variety of areas, including higher education.

In the National Institute for Leadership Development's work with women leaders in community colleges across the country, it became evident that the authoritarianism inherent in traditional leadership styles was uncomfortable for many women. This appeared to be a major reason why many of these women did not apply for leadership positions. Yet, there was a need for more women leaders in community colleges to better respond to and provide models for a student population which had become predominantly female. Concern about this dilemma led to a national research study of presidents in two-year colleges.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The work of Carol Gilligan (1982) at Harvard University in the area of moral psychology constitutes the primary study of gender differences which might have implications for leadership styles. At Harvard, Gilligan was a colleague of the late Lawrence Kohlberg (1981), who developed a theory of moral development using hypothetical moral dilemmas in his work with adolescent boys. Kohlberg's resulting schema defines morality as justice or fairness reasoning, with an emphasis on the movement toward objectivity and universality as the ideal. Treating others fairly and not interfering with their rights are the injunctions of this moral voice or orientation. The moral law here is not to interfere with the rights of others and to step back from situations in an attempt to be objective and fair. This orientation usually places relationships along a continuum of inequality-equality and values autonomy and reciprocity in interactions with others. This voice is referred to as the justice/rights mode.

Gilligan carried forward Kohlberg's research by studying people with real-life dilemmas who were asked to explain their moral thinking and consequent action. Because Gilligan's subjects happened to be a group of women considering abortion, she heard a "voice" that did not fit the patterns evidenced by the males in Kohlberg's study. This new voice or orientation, articulated by Gilligan, is a voice which values attachment and care as the primary basis for moral decisions. The moral injunction here is to be concerned with the needs of others and to step forward into the situation to provide care. This orientation places relationships along a continuum of attachment-detachment and values intimacy and nurturing in interactions with others. This voice or orientation is referred to as the care or connected mode.

Reality and social understanding from these two perspectives imply different ways of viewing the world; thus, the importance of gaining both an awareness of and an understanding of each perspective cannot be overstated in any study of leadership. Gilligan's research may also lead to a more accurate understanding of the self and its motives, as well as a better understanding of the interactions — both personal and professional — between persons, genders, and possibly races and cultures. Moral beliefs are closely aligned with the sense of self, and relationships articulated by the two moral voices are, therefore, viewed differently.

Nona Lyons' research (1983) supported the findings of the Gilligan study and also found that, when people described themselves in relation to others, it was through two distinct orientations: separate/objective or connected. The gender differences here were similar to the moral orientations.

In thinking about the two moral orientations, it is important to remember that all people have behaviors in both modes. Most people, however, when presented with several moral dilemmas, will respond most often out of one mode over the other. It is also important to remember that the two modes are gender-related but not gender-specific; women and men fall into both modes, but more men are found in the justice/rights mode and more women in the care or connected mode. A few people appear to incorporate both modes more or less equally.

Gilligan's research may also lead to a more accurate understanding of the self and its motives, as well as a better understanding of the interactions — both personal and professional — between persons, genders, and possibly races and cultures.

Many of the misunderstandings that occur between genders could be better understood if Gilligan's theory regarding these modes and their shadow sides were applied. Several years ago, a questionnaire was sent to several hundred female and male administrators in community colleges across the country. One of the questions asked was whether or not they had observed differences in leadership according to gender. Many men said that women couldn't make decisions; many women said that men made decisions without including enough people. Frequently, men said women focused on process and neglected outcome, and women often said that men focused on outcome and ignored the process. Men saw issues as being black or white, and women tended to see most issues as grey. These are comments related directly to *objective* versus *connected* thinking or moral orientations. Both contribute to the *whole* reality but, most often, only half is seen or understood.

Those in the justice/rights mode are sensitive to, and fear, being oppressed or oppressing others, while the care/connected mode persons feel similarly about abandoning others or being abandoned. McClelland (1975) reported on research that found men were quicker than women at detecting aggressive scenes flashed briefly on a screen, and women recognized more readily than men scenes of interdependence flashed on the screen. It is possible that, while the two modes probably project those fears onto each other, the real fears — probably not entirely conscious — are of each mode's own shadow self. The concept of shadow self is found in Jung's work, and was influenced by eastern thought. Jung hypothesized that for each reality there exists a shadow, or opposite, reality or self. This shadow side appears also in literature in many forms, from cosmic to demonic. In its most basic form, the shadow self may be simply a preference for certain kinds of behavior, perhaps determined by moral orientation and other factors.

It has been theorized, and evidence of this has been found in the current study, that people in the justice/rights mode tend to project aspects of their moral orientation outward to the environment, while those in the connected/care mode project certain aspects inward to self. Because justice/rights persons are capable of oppressing others, their sensitivity to oppression could be a result of an inner fear that they actually will oppress others. In contrast, in the connected mode, the fear of abandonment becomes projected inward, and its shadow side becomes the fear of abandonment of self. Gilligan has spoken indirectly of this shadow self, commenting, "in searching for connections, women have most often found themselves isolated and alone." Gilligan believes that this occurs because "women see virtue in selflessness." This is, of course, the abandonment of self. It is important to remember that a percentage of men are in this caring mode and that a percentage of women are also in the justice/rights mode.

In the distant and not so distant past, these shadow half-selves, valued for both women and men, often led to sacrifice. Aggressive

leaders, kings, soldiers and hunters were idealized for their aggression, but their lives were often sacrificed because of that aggression. Women, on the other hand, were idealized for their selfless virtues, and their inner lives were often sacrificed. More research is needed to better define and understand these moral orientations, their shadow selves and their effects on gender differences. It is encouraging, however, to see the beginnings of a movement (perhaps evolutionary) by both genders and modes, away from sacrifice, which is a result of fear, and toward celebrating a new way of life, that of working together.

METHOD

The implications of Gilligan's work for community college leadership emerged in the author's post-doctoral research project at Harvard in 1985. Nona Lyons, an associate of Gilligan's, and Jane Saltonstall, a doctoral student at Harvard, were already involved with the study of moral orientation as it related to leadership. The study of community college presidents grew out of this union. David McClelland's work on determining competencies (1975) was also included in the research as a means of determining the competencies of community college CEOs, while also exploring the relation of these competencies to moral orientation. The McClelland method was favored because no pre-conceived ideas of competencies were involved. Rather, the competencies, as in grounded theory, developed out of the interviews, and the methodology drew out both thoughts and deeds, thus adding to its strength. The personal one-on-one interview method was judged to be superior to paper and pencil methods for these reasons, as well as the fact that self-awareness itself could be viewed as a competency. The probing that occurred in a personal interview might more accurately reach many awareness levels.[1]

The McClelland interview was a two-hour, one-on-one approach, as was the Gilligan/Kohlberg method. The researchers, led by Nona Lyons, combined the two interviews into one two-hour session that included questions concerning power, conflict resolution, learning style, and a variety of other questions. In addition, written portions were included consisting of the Myers-Briggs Personality Inventory and a personal data section. The conceptual lens, used in major research projects such as this one, called for questions related to a theoretical framework such as that developed by the three nationally respected theorists, Kohlberg, Gilligan and McClelland, and applied their work to better understanding issues of leadership in community colleges.

Seventy-two community college CEOs, 50% women, 50% men, were personally interviewed by the three researchers over three years. These CEOs were chosen through a nomination process from a variety of sources. Progress was slow because funding was not available; however, the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges saved the research project by underwriting the costs of transcribing the interviews and coding for competencies. For the moral orientation portion, a leadership schema based on the Gilligan coding method was used. After Lyons left the project to continue other work, the research was completed by Jane Saltonstall, Sheila Huff, Mildred Bulpitt, and the author.

FINDINGS

While a majority of the CEOs interviewed exhibited behaviors in both modes, the percentages of those CEOs who were dominant in one mode or the other, or else equally in both modes, were found to be as follows:

TABLE 1

Gender	Care/ Connecting Mode	Justice/ Rights Mode	Combined Mode
Women	66%	17%	17%
Men	28%	50%	22%

The overall results were less gender-related. Of the three CEOs who exhibited the most care indicators, two were men and one was a woman. The same was true for the justice/rights mode. Another interesting finding was that a majority of the CEOs, male or female,

[1]The consultant for this methodology was Sheila Huff, Delphi Consulting, Buffalo, NY, who also coded the interviews using the framework developed at McBer Co., co-founded by David McClelland.

who exhibited a majority of the determined competencies, tended to be in the connected mode or in the combined mode, leading the researchers to theorize that a caring orientation may be typical of leadership in higher education.

Coding for moral orientation involved coding all parts of the interview, not just isolated statements. Some typical statements from both genders relecting the justice/rights orientation are:

> *"My role is to make sure that rules, regulations, and procedures are sound and fair."*
>
> *"It's a leader's responsibility to see things first, to see further and to be able to put those things together so his friends and his organization can be properly positioned for the future."*
>
> *"As president, you have to really watch your ego because of the power that you have. If people don't do what you want them to do you could punish them. Of course, you would never want to do that, but you do have to be aware of your ego." (Shadow self?)*
>
> *"Control is very important to a leader."*

A majority of the CEOs, male or female, who exhibited a majority of the determined competencies, tended to be in the connected mode or in the combined mode, leading the researchers to theorize that a caring orientation may be typical of leadership in higher education.

The following are sample statements by both genders reflecting the care/connected mode:

> *"Leadership is helping people to develop and to feel better about themselves."*
>
> *"Decision-making can involve emotions such as love and caring."*
>
> *"Leadership is the cultivation of followership."*
>
> *"Leadership lets you take the rocks off of other people's heads."*

The projection of moral orientation behaviors, either externally or internally, was found in several parts of our study. While most of the CEOs indicated some concern for both areas of the college, those CEOs in the care/connected mode tended to be most concerned with the inner atmosphere, the community within the college. Justice/rights CEOs tended to be more concerned with how the external community viewed the college. Similar projections were found in response to the question: "What advice would you give to someone considering becoming a community college president?" Those in the connected mode tended to give more internal advice:

> *"Take some time to do some self searching."*
>
> *"You have to want to make a difference, not have personal aggrandizement."*
>
> *"Be aware of the personal sacrifices you will have to make."*

Those in the justice/rights mode tended to give more external advice:

> *"Get a doctorate in higher education; get into the academic pipeline."*
>
> *"Apply for the power positions."*
>
> *"Get near power; find out who makes decisions."*

In an intensive week of concept formation led by Sheila Huff, in which the interviews were analyzed for themes and behaviors, the research group identified 27 competency categories for community college CEOs, each with three to seven sub-competencies. It was found that in the area of competencies, there were more similarities between those CEOs who exhibited *many* competencies (male and

female), and also between those CEOs who exhibited *fewer* competencies (male and female), then there were gender-based differences.

Gender differences did exist, however, several of which could be related to the previous discussion of moral orientation. A few examples of competencies related to gender are:

Women Excelled In	Men Excelled In
presence (projecting enthusiasm and/or strength)	self esteem
optimism	self confidence
initiative	enjoying a challenge
decisiveness	self control
persuasiveness	involvement in change
interest in developing people	commitment to community service

There were other competency categories, such as political awareness and information gathering, where gender differences did not exist. Categories that tended to separate those with many competencies from those with fewer competencies were areas such as presence, breadth of perspective, political awareness, establishing trust and rapport, and valuing subordinates.

The research revealed that no matter what the gender or moral orientation, the most difficult thing for most CEOs to do was terminate an employee or a program. Further, the study indicated that CEOs defined "power" on a continuum much like the moral orientations. Power was defined from "absolute control" to "empowering others." Morality was also defined on a continuum from "equality," "fairness," and "a sense of ethics" to "interconnectedness," "harmony," "helping people grow," and "developing the potential that's in the world."

CONCLUSIONS

This research tends to support the leadership trend that appears to be developing nationally in this country, the movement toward a more "horizontal" model that values people within the organization. This change in leadership style was apparent in the research, where considerable caring and connected behaviors were observed in both genders. Again, this may reflect the kind of people that are attracted to educational institutions.

Care and connection — characteristics that were in the past considered more feminine — now appear to be playing a major role for men as well as women in a new leadership style that can empower others and could allow women and men to work together to create a community *within* the community college. Modeling this style of leadership can also better enable an institution to take its proper place externally as a major moral force in society. The movement of women into leadership positions in community colleges may well be influencing this new more humane style of leadership. It is a contribution that we can all be proud of.

Dr. Desjardins holds a doctorate in Counseling Psychology from Arizona State University, as well as an honorary doctorate from Regis College (MA). She has received AAWCJC Woman of the Year and Women Helping Women awards and carried out research for this article while on a post-doctoral fellowship at Harvard University. With Dr. Mildred Bulpitt, she conducts The National Institute for Leadership Development.

REFERENCES

Gilligan, Carol. *In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Kohlberg, Lawrence. *The Philosophy of Moral Development.* San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981.

Lyons, Nona. "Two Perspectives on Self, Relationships and Morality." *Harvard Educational Review,* 53 (1983): 125-145.

McClelland, David C. *Power: The Inner Experience.* New York: Irvington, 1975.

WOMEN, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POWER

Carol Berrey, Ph.D.

"Why are competent, prepared and ambitious women afraid of appearing to be powerful?" Issues of power and visibility as these influence advancement in higher education administration are the subject of this important article. Dr. Carol Berrey persuasively integrates feminist psychology with principles of modern management and an insider's view of higher education to explore the "paradox" of women in both pursuit of, and flight from, positions of power. Dr. Berrey concludes with a plea for new attitudes such that the notion of "powerful woman" will no longer be regarded as a contradiction in terms.

INTRODUCTION

Although educators are generally considered to be more enlightened and farsighted than the general public (after all, they're shaping the minds of the future), research and statistics indicate that, by and large, academia must receive poor grades in the area of gender equity. The data speak clearly: Even though women constitute the majority of undergraduate students, earn one-third of all doctoral degrees (Millen, 1986), and outnumber males doctorates in the fields of health sciences, psychology, languages, literature, and education (Boileau, 1986), women are still grossly under-represented in the tenured faculty ranks and in upper administration in higher education. These patterns closely parallel the business world; women are allowed access to middle management, but few make it to the top.

In the business world, fear of being or appearing to be powerful (Berrey, 1988) has been identified as a barrier to women's success. Is the situation any different in "enlightened" academia? To arrive at some answers, and perhaps even some additional questions, this study will examine issues of power as they influence women's relative lack of success in academic institutions. The conclusions presented here are based on results of a survey administered to males and females in post-secondary institutions, and on follow-up interviews held with key faculty and staff. Results are presented discursively, with names and other identifying characteristics of respondents changed to maintain confidentiality.

Women give a variety of reasons for their hesitation, but too often these appear to be merely rationalizations masking the real reasons from themselves as well as from others: they feel threatened by power and the responsibilities it brings.

FEAR OF POWER

Many women report feeling hesitant when faced with actively seeking a position which will increase their power and visibility. A tenured female professor described her feelings:

> *"There was a reorganization of my college that created two new division chair positions. I had heard that the new Academic VP had a reputation for moving women into leadership positions, and I felt I had better experience and credentials and backing than anyone else in my division. But when it came down to submitting my application, it just didn't feel right. I wasn't sure I could handle it."*

Like this professor, women give a variety of reasons for their hesitation, but too often these appear to be merely rationalizations masking the real reasons from themselves as well as from others: they feel threatened by

power and the responsibilities it brings (Horner, 1968).

Why are competent, prepared and ambitious women afraid of being or appearing powerful? Traditionally, the positive characteristics of power—independence, potency, aggressiveness, dominance, etc. — are the attributes most often used to describe men. Women, on the other hand, are expected (as well as perceived) to be dependent, soft, passive, subservient and irrational (Broverman *et al.*, 1972). In rejecting this passive role and openly attempting to dominate their environment and the people in it — that is, in behaving powerfully, — women threaten the traditional status quo. Whether they mean to or not, women who act powerfully challenge the entire social structure upon which traditional roles are predicated. Thus, powerful women may be seen by both males and females in organizations as unfeminine, dangerous and threatening. As Lips (1981: 21) writes:

> *. . .in a male-centered society the image of the powerful woman is full of danger and challenge. When a woman rejects the more limited and passive roles consistent with the female stereotype and openly attempts to exercise power in her life or over that of others, she risks losing femininity in the eyes of others — women as well as men. She becomes a threat to a social structure that emphasizes the superior status of men and is, therefore, likely to be perceived and portrayed as evil and dangerous.*

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

In her book *In A Different Voice*, Harvard psychologist Carol Gilligan (1982) writes that Western women grow up learning that their highest moral obligations are to meet other people's needs, maintain relationships and care for others. She notes that women strive for relationships based on cooperation, nurturance, and intimacy. Above all, they work to stay connected to others.

Male morality, on the other hand, is based on living by the rules. Little boys traditionally learn that to be fair and just, they must apply ethical rules without being swayed by feelings. Boys also learn that winning — if it is done according to the rules — is the purpose of the game, even if it means hurting and getting hurt by others. As adult men, they interact through competition, exercise of power, expectations of give-and-take, and a strong desire for autonomy and separateness. They know that attaining success is almost always at someone's expense, and competition is the driving force in organizations.

Gilligan's research indicates that in the 1980's not *all* males hold this "masculine" competitive view of the world, nor do *all* females feel most comfortable in a nurturing role. In fact, she estimates that about 60% of the women and 25% of the men grow up with the nurturing view of moral responsibility, while 75% of the males and 40% of the females place a high value on separateness and objective justice (Desjardins, 1986). These findings indicate that for every male who holds "female" values, there are two women with "male" values. Perhaps this helps explain why women are more comfortable in the work force than men are in full-time parenting roles.

CONFLICT AVERSION

Because most women value positive relationships, they are often unwilling to engage in open conflict or confrontation. Typical of this attitude is the report of one female assistant registrar:

> *"After years as assistant registrar, I felt that I had everything under control and working smoothly, except for Mike. He's been in the department for over twenty years and could retire, but won't. He causes 90% of my problems. I have to review everything he does. If I send anything back, he blows up and pouts for a week. I know I should face him with it and make him do it right like everyone else, but it's easier if I just redo his work."*

Women often feel threatened that people might not like them, or might think they aren't "nice." Whether viewed as a socially positive or negative trait, this conflict-aversion can

severely limit women's effectiveness in an organization that is based on competing and winning, especially in encounters which must necessarily result in there being a winner and a loser (Sassen, 1980).

Women who want to succeed are faced with conflicting moral values. They must resolve a profound professional/personal paradox: If their pursuit of power threatens personal relationships or has a negative impact on others, they feel selfish and uncaring (both cardinal sins for women). On the other hand, if they refuse to compete for fear of hurting or offending, they are judged inadequate to hold key positions which require strong leadership.

CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS

As long as men are powerful leaders and women are faithful supporters, everyone knows what to expect and how to act. But when women exercise power in the professional world, or men are indecisive, confusion and ambiguity result. Nobody is quite sure whether to treat them as females (and therefore passive and emotional), or as leaders (and therefore aggressive and powerful), according to Lips. These conflicting expectations often result in highlighting a professional woman's femininity and sexuality over her competence in ways that almost never occur with professional men (Sandler & Hall, 1986). For example, a coordinator reported this incident:

> *"I'm over forty and of average attractiveness, but I think I'm bright and competent. One time when my Dean, who is a male, called a contact to set up an appointment for me to discuss negotiations for an important facility acquisition, he introduced me as 'a very attractive young lady,' not as 'Dr. . . .' This is typical of his attitude and behavior. I'm sure he thinks he's complimented me, and he would probably be dumbfounded if he knew how angry and uncomfortable it makes me. I'm sure he'd never introduce my male colleagues as 'a handsome young fellow!'"*

Women perceive their successes to be due to luck or circumstances, while their mistakes are "their own fault." Men, on the other hand, take credit for the things that go right, and blame external forces for negative outcomes. Women who are unable to recognize and accept their own accomplishments thus find power positions doubly threatening.

Because most women grew up with the traditional set of role expectations, they themselves aren't always sure of how to act or how their actions will be received. Women who work predominately with men are often thrust into situations where they don't know the basic ground rules for doing business. The high price they pay for breaking rules they didn't even know existed renders their positions dangerous and threatening. The passive behaviors expected of a woman and the aggressive ones expected of a boss don't mix well. At best women are expected to adopt less threatening power strategies (such as personal influence), while stereotypes allocate to males the more aggressive tactics. These expectations are so strong that women are usually perceived as breaking the rules if they use direct, competent, concrete strategies of power (Johnson, 1976). Sandler and Hall (1986:5) report (only somewhat tongue in cheek):

> *HOW TO TELL A MALE ACADEMIC FROM A FEMALE:*
> *He is aggressive. She is pushy . . . He is good on details. She's picky. He worked very hard. She slept her way through graduate school. He loses his temper because he's so involved in his job. She's bitchy. He gets angry. She gets emotional. . .*

Because of this compartmentalization of "female" and "powerful," we need new guidelines for resolving conflicting notions of

what behavior is appropriate. Even when everyone is trying to do "what's right," neither the woman nor those dealing with her can always be certain of successfully gauging and meeting others' expectations.

ATTRIBUTION THEORY

Because power positions carry with them increased responsibility, women are often threatened by the very power which is necessary for greater achievement. Studies of attribution theory — the causal theories we attach to our own and others' actions — indicate that women perceive their successes to be due to luck or circumstances, while their mistakes are "their own fault." Men, on the other hand, take credit for the things that go right, and blame external forces for negative outcomes (Kelly, 1967; Knowlton and Mitchell, 1980). Women who are unable to recognize and accept their own accomplishments thus find power positions doubly threatening. They are never sure that they have really earned the raise, the promotion, or the new title because they aren't sure that their successes are actually due to their own efforts, and not just luck (Deau and Emswiller, 1974). Thus, women are often much more competent than they are confident, while men sometimes hide gross inadequacies behind a mask of bravado.

Power is much more threatening to women than to men because it brings greater visibility for their possible mistakes, and a greater willingness on the part of others, both male and female, to make them pay dearly for those mistakes.

VISIBILITY

Power is often threatening to women because it makes them more visible. A female financial analyst related how she had turned down an offer to compete for her departing boss's position:

> *"I designed most of the systems that run the investment program and I know every detail of the program, but I'd be frightened to death to have to present these reports to the Board of Regents. They ask all kinds of questions, and I know I'd get flustered and not be able to answer. They'd scare me to death."*

Similar themes in other interviews reveal that this aspect of power has several facets. First, women who successfully attain powerful positions formerly occupied by men often undergo intense scrutiny by those whose turf has been invaded—the males of the organization. Personal experience and other women's war stories have taught these women that both the males in the group they are entering and the females in the group they left behind are just waiting to see them make big mistakes. The fact that this hostility is largely unconscious does not soften the possible negative results for the women being scrutinized.

Second, when women are promoted to positions of power, they gain a higher profile which means more people will witness their failures as well as applaud their successes. This is especially true when a woman is one of a very few females in that position. Merely being different from the mass makes her, and her mistakes, more visible. As one woman put it:

> *"I don't like to make mistakes, but I especially don't like to make mistakes that everyone is going to know about. Some people on this campus seem to do everything they can to get noticed, but not me. It just means that more people will know when you screw up, and who needs that? Not me, for sure!"*

Third, the old boy network will forgive even grave lapses by members of the network. Many women fear high visibility because they know that THEIR missteps would be held up to ridicule and could seriously damage their careers.

Fourth, women's competence and credentials are valued less highly than if they were males. Rosenkrantz *et al.* (1968, cited in Lips) report that laboratory experiments show that based only on the knowledge of the individual's gender, women are overwhelmingly considered to be less competent than men. Lips also cites numerous studies indicating that "products and performance records attributed to women are often evaluated less favorably than the identical item attributed to men."

Thus, power is much more threatening to women than to men because it brings greater visibility for their possible mistakes, and a greater willingness on the part of others, both male and female, to make them pay dearly for those mistakes.

POWER AND FEARS OF ABANDONMENT

While men have long known that "it's lonely at the top," women are now discovering that this may be doubly true for them. In interviews with nine women holding executive staff positions at various institutions, all indicated that one or more valued association with colleagues had been adversely affected by their rise to more responsible positions. In contrast, only a third of the male executives considered that social relationships had been changed significantly by their promotions. Gilligan, Desjardins and other psychologists report that a sense of being socially connected to others is a dominant female value. Women often fear power because it may pose a threat to their emotional support system. As long as there are relatively few women in upper level management, the women who are there have no choice but to live without the emotional and social support that comes from working in a large and varied peer group which includes other women with similar interests and problems.

Even worse, women who move beyond traditional jobs can be the targets of subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) attacks from the females that they have passed in their move up the academic ladder. Predictably, many former peers feel that these aggressive and successful women have risen above their station. This resentment born of envy often shows up as negative gossip, obstructionism and active undermining. Management Professor Lynn Suksdorf (1987) reports that other women are often the worst enemies of those who seek to increase their range of organizational control and power. This at least partially explains the often-heard statement from women, "I'd never work for a woman boss."

TASK FAMILIARITY

Women typically feel that they must be thoroughly familiar with a new job before they will apply for it. In contrast, the male strategy is to get the job first, and then learn what it's all about it on company time. A Certified Professional Secretary explained why she had turned down an executive secretary position with the Dean of the School of Computer Science:

> *"I don't understand all those computer terms, and they have acromyms for everything. I know I'd be completely lost there."*

When women don't believe in their past successes, it is nearly impossible for them to undertake new or more difficult challenges. Being bright or hardworking doesn't get women very far if they fail to realize that, first, they are probably fully as prepared as everyone else facing the new task, and second, even the people who are now experts muddled through the first time around.

Nobody gives away power nor promises that wielding it will be easy. It must be aggressive pursued and artfully managed. Women who doubt their own past accomplishments, and are unsure about future ones, are severely handicapped in that pursuit.

CONCLUSION

What do the data and experiences of women in academia tell us? *Is* it possible for women to wield power effectively without feeling guilty and without threatening the men around them? More and more bright women are deciding to pursue careers in teaching and administration at the college level. Unfortunately, they find that their experiences closely parallel those of women pioneering the

leadership frontiers in business and industry. Because today's economy increasingly requires two salaries to support a family, the percentage of married as well as single women entering the work force will continue to rise. Even women with traditional values and a strong preference for nurturing roles can no longer afford the luxury of remaining at home. Economic factors are forcing them to enter the business world where competitive values predominate. In order to accomplish even the minimal goal of contributing to family support, these women may have to trade connectedness for getting ahead in a win-lose organizational game. But there is hope. Like American society as a whole, American educational institutions are in a period of change. The long-standing division of productive labor and emotional roles along gender lines is breaking down.

In this environment of dangerous choices and hidden rules, both men and women may become either institutional victims or the vanguard of a new social order. The challenge of this transition period is to integrate the traditional separation of roles into a new vision of education and society, where gender is no longer the primary basis for defining others and self. Men as well as women need to view themselves as pioneers in an evolutionary process, leading to a culture in which being a powerful woman is no longer a contradiction in terms. ♦

Dr. Berrey is a specialist in Business and Industry Relations at the Utah State Department of Education. Previously, she was a member of the business faculty at Salt Lake Community College.

REFERENCES

Berrey, Carol. "More women with doctorates." *Spectra* 23 (1986): 10.

Broverman, I.K., R.S. Vogel, D.M. Broverman, T.E. Clarkson and P.S. Rosenkrantz. "Sex-Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal." *Journal of Social Issues* 28 (1972): 59-78.

Desjardins, C. "*In a Different Voice: Issues for Leadership and Student Development.*" Session. Seventh Annual National Institute for Leadership Development Conference. Baltimore, February 1986.

Deau, K. and T. Emswiller. "Explanations of Successful Performance on Sex-linked Tasks: What is Skill for the Male is Luck for the Female." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 29 (1974): 80-85.

Gilligan, C. *In a Different Voice.* Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1982.

Horner, M.S. *Sex Differences in Achievement Motivation and Performance in Competitive and Noncompetitive Situations.* Dissertation. University of Michigan, 1968.

Johnson, P. "Women and Power: Toward a Theory of Effectiveness." *Journal of Social Issues* 32 (1976): 99-110.

Kelly, H.H. "Attribution Theory in Social Psychology." *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation.* D. Levine, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Knowlton, W.A. and T.R. Mitchell. "Effects of Causal Attributions on a Supervisor's Evaluation of Subordinate Performance." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 65 (1980): 459-466.

Lips, H. *Women, Men, and the Psychology of Power.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

Millen, L. "Women Flock to Graduate School in Record Numbers, But Fewer Blacks are Entering the Academic Pipeline." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 33 (1986): 1.

Rosenkrantz, P., S. Vogel, H. Bee, I. Broverman, and D.M. Broverman. "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Self-Concepts in College Students." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 32 (1968): 287-295.

Sandler, B.R. and R. Hall. *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students.* Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges, 1986.

Sassen, G. "Success Anxiety in Women: A Constructivist Interpretation of its Sources and its Significance." *Harvard Educational Review* 50 (1980): 13-25.

Suksdorf, Lynn. Personal communication to author. June, 1987.

COGNITIVE DIFFERENCES OF MALE AND FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS

Ruth H. Doyle, Ed. D.; Barbara Mueller, Ph. D.

A 1988 survey of 39 administrators at a rural (2668 FTE) community college focused on differences in the cognitive styles of male and female administrators. Gender differences in the perception and use of quantitative symbols, qualitative symbols, cultural determinants and modalities of inference were analyzed. The greatest cognitive differences between the genders were noted in factors such as influence of associates, organizational skills, importance of motor coordination, use of body language for communicating, and differences in sensory stimulants. Both sexes ranked similarly in the category of gestalt — seeing the whole picture — but male administrators used synthesis and females used analysis to envision the gestalt.

INTRODUCTION

Questions about the psychological nature of men and women, including differences in perception, cognition and administrative style, are issues affecting the leadership styles of males and females. At a rural community college with an FTE of 2668 students, a cognitive styles mapping instrument was completed by 39 male and female administrators to facilitate internal communications. The authors of this study then assessed the gender differences in administrators' responses on the instrument. Administrators were defined as those individuals whose job descriptions did not entail teaching as the major institutional task and who did not fit the definition of non-professional staff. The four broad categories of cognitive style assessed were: theoretical symbols, qualitative symbols, cultural determinants, and modalities of influence.

METHOD

The cognitive styles mapping questionnaire used in this study was adapted from the *Modified Hill Cognitive Styles Mapping Instrument.* This instrument describes each individual's cognitive style in relation to a rating of "major," "minor" and "negligible" on 28 specific elements. Respondents answer 224 items relating to the four general categories listed above. All responses are self-perceived evaluations regarding how the administrator learns from the environment and from experience. This learning style, in turn, defines how the administrator functions within the institution's structure and the administrator's preferred learning environment. The intent of administering the questionnaire was to create an awareness of strengths and limitations of each administrator's cognitive style in relation to others and to the group as a whole on the campus.

The researchers were concerned with notable differences between male and female administrator's cognitive styles and the influence of these apparent gender differences in the intrerpretation of nonliteral messages of other people. Respondents might perceive these messages on numerous levels, including sensory experience, nonverbal language, emotional tones, as well as language (Kagan and Schneider, 1987: 459). For each of the 28 learning areas evaluated by the instrument, each individual's score was ranked as "major," "minor" or "negligible." The percentage of major, minor and negligible ratings was calculated for each item by sex. Those items with more than a 20 percentage-point spread were considered significant and have been analyzed in depth for study.

FINDINGS

The first section of the instrument is concerned with theoretical symbols, that is, a preference for working with words or numbers, spoken or written language. The analysis indicated little difference between men and women. Male administrators showed only a slight preference for auditory

learning over women.

The second section of the instrument is concerned with qualitative symbols, or the perception of meaning through the senses. While respondent men and women appeared to use sound, touch and sight fairly equally, there was some inconsistency regarding the sense of smell and taste.

Respondents belied the adage "The way to a man's heart is through his stomach" since 77 percent of the women (but only 52 percent of the men) rated taste as significant to their learning style. Thus, the concentration of females might be improved by providing snacks during meetings and ensuring that the conference lunch is well-prepared. Seventy-six percent of the men, on the other hand, perceived sensory meaning through the sense of smell versus only 46 percent of the women. This would indicate that men may be more sensitive to environmental odors than are women. Women with too heavy a hand on the atomizer may find that they are sabotaging business communications with men.

In assessing kinesics under qualitative symbols, 85 percent of the women used facial and body expression and gestures to convey their meaning, whereas only 36 percent of the men stated that they used body language to facilitate communication in the workplace. This finding substantiates the many other studies which have concluded that women and men differ in their non-verbal behavior. For example, research indicates that women produce more facial displays of emotion (Buck, Miller and Caul, 1974; Cherulnik, 1979) and spend more of their interactional time smiling and looking at others than do males (Francis, 1979). What is unusual about the administrators in this study is *not* that they displayed different non-verbal communication behaviors but that *both* sexes were cognitively aware of their own body language and its effects.

In contrast, when performing a motor skill such as bowling, golfing or running a computer, of those activities requiring the correct form, 64 percent of the men and only 39 percent of the women were apt to be fanatics about mastery of form. For example: just getting the ball over the net seemed to work for most females. This finding is similar to the results that Stein and Lenrow (1970:10) found in their experiment with college students. When asked to express their interest in a variety of activities, women students showed greater interest in sensory-perceptual activities than men while men were more interested in motoric activities. No differences were found between male and female students regarding preference for ideational activities.

The third section of the instrument concerned cultural determinants. When asked about significant others who influenced their value judgments, decisions and actions, 44 percent of the males were much more strongly influenced by peers, colleagues, and associates than were the 15 percent of women who networked. In contrast, 62 percent of the women found the influence of family and church a major concern, versus 48 percent of the men. Both men and women were independent in evaluating information and preferred to digest new information alone.

85 percent of the women used facial and body expression and gestures to convey their meaning, whereas only 36 percent of the men stated that they used body language to facilitate communication in the workplace.

The last section of the instrument concerned modalities of inference or patterns of thinking. Women tended to have a slight preference for looking at differences in order to contrast one situation against another (85 percent for women versus 72 percent for men) while men tended to look more for similarity of relationship (80 percent for men versus 62 percent for women).

This is in keeping with the findings of Glixman (1965) that women use a greater number of categories than men in sorting items. Seventy-six percent of the male respondents in this study tended to solve problems in stepwise fashion, reasoning from a general principle logically down to a specific case. Only about half (54 percent) of the women used this deductive method. In general, the women tended to favor analysis while the men used synthesis. However, male

(48 percent) and female (46 percent) administrators in this study were equally using gestalt, wherein a combination of strategies is used to make a decision or evaluate an overall situation. Women (77 percent) were less likely than men (92 percent) to use standards and rules in order to organize and structure situations.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Several limitations exist in this study, and the authors recommend that it be replicated with a larger sample size. Moreover, as Haring-Hidore (1987) notes in a recent book review, mentoring and being mentored may have some impact on cognitive styles, an idea which could be examined in a future study. In the present study, women tended to hold positions at the same power level and, thus, may have lacked mentoring influence. The males in the study held jobs at more diverse power levels. Mentoring could, therefore, account for some differences in responses to the cognitive styles map. Likewise, mutuality could account for such differences as affiliation and networking with associates.

Women tended to have a slight preference for looking at differences in order to contrast one situation against another while men tended to look more for similarity of relationship.

Overall, the women administrators were more sensory and cognitively orientated while male administrators were more motoric and organizationally orientated. Also, a major finding of this study is that men and women both envision the whole — the gestalt — or end result. However, women generally envision it through analysis while men envision it through synthesis. The logical conclusion is that for any institutional goal, both genders should be assigned to committee work so that the goal can be examined and approached from all directions and methods of problem-solving.

Dr. Doyle is on the counseling staff at Casper College in Wyoming. Dr. Mueller serves as assistant to the Dean of Continuing Education at the same institution.

REFERENCES

Bloom, Benjamin S., ed. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. New York: Longman Press, 1956.

Buck, R., R.E. Miller and W.F. Caul. "Sex, Personality and Physiological Variables in the Communication of Emotion Via Facial Expression." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 30 (1974): 587-596.

Cherulnik, P.D. "Sex Differences in the Expression of Emotion in a Structured Social Encounter." *Sex Roles* 5 (1979): 413-424.

Frances, S.J. "Sex Differences in Nonverbal Behavior." *Sex Roles* 5 (1979): 519-535.

Glixman, A.F. "Categorizing Behavior as a Function of Meaning Domain." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 2 (1965): 370-377.

Haring-Hidore. "Mentoring as a Career Enhancement Strategy for Women." Book review. *Journal of Counseling and Development* 65 (May 1987): 147-148.

Kagan, N. and J. Schneider. "Toward the Measurement of Affective Sensitivity." *Journal of Counseling and Development* 65 (May 1987): 459-464.

Mount Hood Community College. *Revised Modified Hill Cognitive Styles Map* (August 1978).

Stein, K.B. and P. Lenrow. "Expression Styles and Their Measurement." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 16 (1970): 656-664.

PERSPECTIVES ON LEADERSHIP AND BLACK WOMEN PRESIDENTS

JoAnn Bradley, Ph. D.; Patricia Carey, Ed. D.; Evelyn Whitaker, M.S.W.

Few issues of interest to Black women in higher education have as much relevance as the issue of leadership. A survey of fifteen Black women college presidents showed that these women share many of the leadership qualities found in other leaders regardless of race or gender. However, survey respondents appeared to have to work harder to be accepted as competent, impartial, and worthy of the services usually rendered to presidents. These women felt their experiences growing up female and Black, while often negative, could be turned into positive factors leading to their success as college presidents.

Is there a definition of leadership which is unique to Black women? As senior administrators in colleges and universities, we have often talked informally about aspects of this question. While most of our colleagues agree on specific qualities of good leadership — for example, decision-making abilities, motivational and communication skills — other less tangible attributes seem equally important.

Some of these attributes are being discussed in the more recent literature on leadership within the context of a "feminine style of leadership" (Cohen, 1989) or the "female ethos" in leadership (Rodgers-Rose, 1980). Both concepts describe leadership as a relational, mutually cooperative enterprise between leaders and followers, where the goal is not simply the empowerment of the self, but the empowerment of others for the benefit of all. The leader creates with the followers ". . . a vision for the organization which incorporates their most basic needs for security and safety, as well as fostering self-actualization and social responsibility" (Rodgers-Rose: 5).

The question is not whether the feminine style or the female ethos characterizes leadership styles of Black women, but whether there are attributes of leadership which Black women bring to their positions by virtue of their being Black *and* female.

The question is not whether the feminine style or the female ethos characterizes leadership styles of Black women, but whether there are attributes of leadership which Black women bring to their positions by virtue of their being Black and female.

Both sexism and racism have been discriminatory realities for Black women in America (Carey, 1979; Giddings, 1984), the consequences of which have been felt at home and in the workplace:

> *"Historically, racial necessity had made Black women redefine the notion of womanhood to integrate the concepts of work, achievement, and independence into their role as women." (Giddings: 356).*

We would expect, therefore, that their unique history would influence their leadership styles of Black women.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study was to survey Black women college presidents to get first-hand impressions of issues and concerns associated with their presidencies, and to identify for the future, questions which could be explored in more rigorously devised research designs.

Twenty-one (21) Black women college presidents, as recognized leaders, were contacted by letter inviting their participation; fifteen (15) agreed to be interviewed. By prearrangement, the fifteen were interviewed over the phone. Each interview lasted

approximately one hour and fifteen minutes and responses were recorded on tape and in writing. Since this was a preliminary inquiry, neither the questions nor the answers were coded. The responses were collated and analyzed by all three writers. The participants represented institutions in the public and private sectors, ranging from large universities to small colleges and from colleges exclusively for women to colleges which are co-educational. The participants differed in years of experience as president, age, marital status, and region of the country.

SURVEY PROTOCOL

A survey protocol of twenty-five questions was developed, utilizing Sergiovanni's 10-P Model of Leadership (1984), which the authors deemed quite appropriate for addressing the question in this study: "Is there a definition of leadership which is unique to Black women?"

10-P Model Sergiovanni considers his 10-P Model "a cognitive map of the requirements for quality leadership"(107), which focuses on the symbolic aspects of leadership, "brings to the forefront one's history" (112), and puts into bold relief combinations of norms, beliefs, and principles. The 10 "Ps," or leadership components, are: Prerequisites, Perspective, Principles, Platform, Politics, Purposing, Planning, Persisting, Peopleing and Patriotism. The interplay of these 10 components, which are grouped into leadership skills, leadership antecedents and leadership meanings, results in what Sergiovanni labels "leadership as cultural expression" (107).

Leadership Skills are prerequisites and refer to the requisite skills for basic leadership competence.

Leadership Antecedents, are conditions, feelings, assumptions, and attitudes which guide the leader's decisions, actions and behavior.

Leadership Meanings encompass the belief that what you are doing is important to the organization, society and self.

Patriotism, or cultural expression, is commitment and loyalty to the characteristics which give an organization unique meaning (107-111).

Several questions in the survey focused, therefore, on the definition of leadership, leadership style, skills and principles. Others were designed to tap any unique characteristics which might exist as related to race and gender. Finally, the participants were given the option of making additional comments at the end of the survey.

FINDINGS

The responses of our presidents tend to confirm that, in broad terms, Sergiovanni's 10-P Model captures what is involved in effective leadership.

Leadership Defined In their definitions of leadership, the concepts most frequently cited by the presidents were "vision," "creativity," "empowerment," "charisma." The response of one president was characteristic: "[Leadership] is the ability to create and design a particular kind of environment in order to influence people and move them toward mutual goals." These presidents characterized their style of leadership as being persuasive, collegial, and participatory. Persuasion, for two of the presidents, included use of humor and mastery of the art of "provocative questioning." When asked if their style would change if they were president of another institution, all agreed that it would not. What they would do would change; the way they would do it would not. While style is constant, it is adaptable.

In response to the question of what it takes to be a competent leader, the presidents stated that an understanding of human dynamics and behavior is basic. A leader must be able to listen, assess, analyze and decide.

Leadership Antecedents The presidents identified the principles which undergird their leadership: integrity, honesty, fairness and respect, all of which affirm the individual. As one president stated, "People are worth more than things." Another president impassionately stated, ". . . It is essential to promote social justice for people . . . because in the long run, we will have created a society in which individuals can overcome barriers to achievement." Another factor acknowledged

by several of the presidents was religion. Simply stated, "I pray," said one president.

Race and Gender As An Issue While the presidents agreed that their principles were not unique, they quickly added that being Black and female reinforced the importance of these principles in their everyday actions and behaviors.

The presidents all recognized the importance of symbolism in organizational culture; nonetheless, they also acknowledged that race and gender sometimes hindered their ability to achieve certain desired goals. One president said, "I see people redefining goals and expectations. It seems that people expect more of you if you are Black." The perceptions of several presidents reflect a negative appraisal that has to be dealt with; i.e., that Black women are less capable and that they will not perform as well [as whites]. These presidents gave credence to the argument that Black women are still considered to be "at the bottom of the barrel"; thus, they must work harder and longer to be "always two steps ahead of everyone else."

These presidents gave credence to the argument that Black women are still considered to be "at the bottom of the barrel"; thus, they must work harder and longer to be "always two steps ahead of everyone else."

Being a Black woman in leadership can also have its positive side, even when the perceptions and expectations are negative. One president suggested that because Black women are less valued, they are less threatening. Coupling this with their penchant for adopting a participatory style of leadership, it is sometimes easier to convince people that they are, indeed, sharing the power and to mobilize them to action.

Another strategy for bringing people together around mutual goals is to be a "competent presence." Succinctly stated by one president, "If I am competent, people will get used to seeing a competent me." Politics and governance, both of which are integral to institutional life, influence leadership. Several questions focused on the college/university as a political entity, and the political obstacles the presidents had experienced. Their responses to these questions suggest that politics, both within and outside the institution, are not considered obstacles but realities which a president cannot avoid. Politics, agreed several of the presidents, require that they know who their constituencies are, and that they be well aware that constituent competition is inevitable. One president noted that in public colleges, where the college is particularly dependent on taxpayer monies, politicians seem to feel that they should have a role in making decisions about and for the college. Another president added that whether "you are dealing with internal or external dynamics, it is critical that the president carve out and clarify her boundaries."

Another issue for the presidents is acceptance, which they consider one of the "rites of passage" for any leader. One president stated: "You must prove yourself, and convince others that what you are selling is what they want to buy." Acceptance is something that one earns. What compounds this issue for Black women, however, is the question which inevitably arises regarding their loyalty and whether they are going to favor one group over another. In multiracial institutions, presidents are frequently asked, "Are you a president who is Black or are you a Black president?" The issue for presidents in predominantly Black colleges is frequently couched in very traditional terms, the "we - they" relationship so often present between faculty and administration. If the faculty is largely male, the question may also be framed along the female dimension.

Finally, in response to the question of getting to and remaining at "the top," the presidents agreed that merely looking at the numbers strongly suggests that it is difficult to "get there" and to "stay there." There was also consensus that Black women have to be "overqualified," and need to have already demonstrated abilities that go far beyond what is required for the job. Black women are "continually being examined under a microscope," commented one of the presidents. This corroborates the statement made by

another president, who said that when women fail there is much more interest [generated] although, in fact, the success rates of men and women in leadership are almost the same. A double standard still prevails with an added layer that centers around stereotypic perceptions of Black women. Thus, several of our presidents agreed that they are frequently expected to be their own housekeeper, their own hostess and their own messenger. They are stereotypically forced into the role of "mammy," or "nurturer," and they are expected "to care for others." On the other hand, their counterparts, whether male or white female, are free to devote their energies to the task of being president because they are expected "to be cared for."

Socialization Since our presidents are unique by virtue of both race and gender, we explored with them the impact of these factors on leadership. We hypothesized that being Black and female would add another dimension to Sergiovanni's 10-P Model. In their responses, the presidents expressed a kinship with all women when they agreed that, in traditional childrearing practices, females were not taught to work in teams. Girls were socialized to be cooperative while boys were expected to be competitive. It might seem odd then, that our Black women presidents utilize a team approach in their style of management. Perhaps their socialization served in later life as a model for collaborative — as opposed to competitive — team work. One president stated it well when she said, "Our upbringing was a natural training ground for leadership. Our socialization also taught us that it was good to define oneself in terms of the group, thereby finding personal fulfillment in the group." Observed one president, "You learn early the techniques of negotiation, getting people to do what you want them to do, and delegating and sharing responsibility."

Another president stressed the importance of the historical experience of Black women who, at a very early age, gain an understanding of people in power. In fact, the presidents recognized other specific qualities and behaviors which Black women in particular have adopted, a tradition not without its problems. As one president said, "We were socialized to be strong and assertive, but we do not see that strength being translated enough into positions of authority and power." Another president observed that Black women experience a type of schizophrenia in which it is acceptable to be assertive in the workplace (though even that is sometimes questionable), but in personal relationships Black women are expected to temper this assertiveness, to accommodate, to be demure and appropriately female.

Coupled with assertive behavior is the belief that Black women can do it all, must do everything at once, and must do it themselves. This results in a workaholic style. One president remarked that "We blame ourselves for failure, and we miss the larger picture, we are so busy trying to be better than everyone else. Often, we do not see that we are as competent as the next."

In multiracial institutions, presidents are frequently asked, "Are you a president who is Black or are you a Black president?". . . If the faculty is largely male, the question may also be framed along the female dimension.

In summary, the point made by the majority of the presidents was that some of the same skills and strengths which helped Black women to survive historically have been passed on, embraced by, and continue as survival strategies particularly for Black women presidents. Sergiovanni's 10-P Model of leadership allowed us to look at the person in leadership, her history, and the values which guide her.

It is not surprising that the definitions of leadership offered by the respondent presidents carry in them the spirit of the female ethos which stresses empowerment, inclusion, duty, love, and care (Rodgers-Rose). Black women seem to place their emphasis on having a heightened sense of the individual and stressing the importance of social justice for all.

Black women in leadership, like all women,

are still considered both "status and role incongruent" (Gale, 1989: 25). For Black women, however, this perception is intensified because they "belong to the inferior sex of an inferior race" (Sterling, 1984: ix). According to Gale, for a woman to be perceived as a leader, she must act like a leader, but she must be careful not to seem threatening or submissive (25). Add to this the racial stereotyping which influences our perceptions and expectations, and for the Black woman in leadership, the dilemma intensifies.

That our Black women college presidents have experienced substantial resistance and obstacles attributable to their race and gender was anticipated. What seems noteworthy, however, is the extent to which they have parlayed potentially negative experiences into positive, productive ones. Our experientially diverse presidents know, directly or indirectly, that racism and sexism are part of the fabric of this society. They have chosen neither to dwell on being Black and female nor to defend or excuse their status. Instead they concentrate on being effective and excellent. Our presidents have also rejected the negative interpretation of the role that Black women have played in society regarding Black family instability. Instead, they have embraced the value of self-sufficiency and developed a sense of self which insists on high aspirations.

What seems noteworthy, however, is the extent to which they have parlayed potentially negative experiences into positive, productive ones . . . They have chosen neither to dwell on being Black and female nor to defend or excuse their status. Instead, they concentrate on being effective and excellent.

Black women have had few female role models to emulate or to mentor them in their professional development. In large measure, our presidents have had to create their own leadership model in academe. They are in a profession where the stakes are high and the pressures, both internal and external, are great. Nevertheless, they set the standard for what a president is and what a president should be.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose and importance of this study is its focus on Black women, with particular emphasis on leadership. Many of the major concerns of Black women college presidents are the same concerns facing higher education today, in general, that is, the development of committed and capable leadership for our colleges now and into the 21st century. For the respondents, an even greater emphasis on leadership development among Black and Hispanic professionals is essential. As John W. Gardner (1987:16) stated, "Leadership is a performing art." Potential leaders need opportunities to lead, and they need role models and mentors as well as opportunities to associate with other aspiring leaders.

The survey, as expected, raised more questions than it answered, and the findings suggest directions for future study. Our presidents came from very diverse backgrounds, and each of them had varying degrees and levels of experiences related to their gender and ethnicity. All concurred that their upbringing had a significant impact on their leadership style; however, the extent and nature of this impact requires further examination. Most of the presidents studied seem to have turned negative experiences regarding their race and gender into positive factors to be utilized in reaching their goals. They appeared to have brought to their leadership high motivation, determination, and a set of survival behaviors that were an outgrowth ofthose negative experiences. This aspect of their uniqueness is another area for further research. What do these Black women college presidents share in common with black male, white female or white male presidents? Can we expect the perceptions and behavior of future black female leaders to change as their life experiences differ, or will racism and sexism continue to have a profound influence on their leadership?

Dr. Bradley is a Dean at the College of Health-Related Professions, Health Science Center at Brooklyn/SUNY. Dr. Carey is Dean for Student Affairs at the New York Univesity School of Education, Health, Nursing and Arts Professions. Ms. Whitaker is Vice Prsident for Student Affairs at the New York City Technical College/CUNY. This article is based on a presentation by the authors at the February 1988 Conference of the National Council on Black American Affairs.

REFERENCES

Bennis, W. and B. Nanus. *Leaders*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.

Bernard, J. The Female World. New York: Free Press, 1981.

Carey, Patricia. "Black Women — A Perspective." Tenth Anniversary Commemorative Series, volume 1, number 3. New York: New York University Institute of African American Affairs, 1979.

Cohen, Sherry. *Gender Power*. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1989.

Gale, Linda L. "Gender and Leadership: The Implications of Small Group Research." *NAWDAC Journal* 51, 4 (1988).

Gardner, John W. "Leadership: The Role of Community Colleges in Developing the Nation's Young Potential Leaders." *AACJC Journal* (April/May 1987).

Giddings, Paula. *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1984.

Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Hull, Gloria T. *et al.*, editors. *But Some of Us Are Brave*. New York: Feminist Press, 1982.

Loden, M. *Feminine Leadership or How to Succeed in Business Without Being One of the Boys*. New York: Time Books, 1985.

Rodgers-Rose, La Frances, editor. *The Black Woman*. California: Sage Press, 1980.

Sergiovanni, Thomas J. and J. E. Corbally, editors. *Leadership and Organizational Culture*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Sterling, Dorothy. *We Are Your Sisters*. New York: Norton Press, 1984.

DEVELOPING A POLICY APPROACH TO PROFESSIONALLY APPROPRIATE FACULTY/STUDENT SEXUAL RELATIONS ON COMMUNITY COLLEGE CAMPUSES

Doric Little, Ed. D.

Largely as a result of a 1986 Supreme Court decision which dealt with sexual harassment, colleges across the nation have begun to discuss the issue of professional conduct as it concerns administrator/faculty-student sexual relations. This article presents the legal basis for this concern and offers step by step suggestions for implementing a policy, code or statement regarding such relationships on community college campuses.

While much attention has been given to developing policies which address the problem of sexual harassment in higher education, an important dimension of this problem has tended to be overlooked. Consentual sexual relationships between faculty or administrators and students have in general been ignored in most institutional policies on harassment. In fact, there are some faculty who are unable to comprehend the difference between the terms "sexual harassment" and "sexual relationship."

At the April 1988 meeting of the National Education Association, the Standing Committee on Higher Education passed a "Resolution on Sexual Harassment in Higher Education" which termed sexual harassment "reprehensible" and declared faculty-student sexual relationships to be "unprofessional" (Wechsler, 1988.) Indeed, the "reprehensibility" of sexual harassment on campus has been articulated in the policies of most U.S. institutions of higher learning. However, the ambiguous status of faculty/student sexual relationships is currently a topic of considerable national discussion. Articles appearing in fairly recent issues of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and the *Outpost Magazine* of the *Washington Post* drew attention to this growing concern and to the general lack of guidelines for policy development in this area (McMillen, 1986; Martin and Murphy, 1987).

The primary objective of this article is to provide suggestions for development of a policy, code or statement dealing with faculty-student sexual relationships at community colleges. The suggestions are presented as a series of steps in the order in which they should be undertaken:

1. Begin with a rationale.
2. Provide adequate background information.
3. Explain how college campuses address this issue.
4. Offer policy development guidelines.
5. Keep the policy simple.
6. Specify the informal and formal processes.
7. Involve the entire campus community.

BEGIN WITH A RATIONALE

Because the basic reason for the current concern is legal, it is important to begin a discussion on policy development by explaining the socio-legal factors to all involved (Little, 1988). A change in the law came in June 1986 when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled on its first sexual harassment case, *Meritor Savings Bank, FSB v. Vinson* [106 S. Ct. 2399 (1986)]. The Court ruled that the most important factor in determining if a sexual harassment case has merit is whether the sexual conduct was "unwelcome." In its determination that "unwelcomeness" was the key element in deciding whether a case was actionable, the Court stated that the voluntary compliance of the complainant was no longer a defense, a stance with potential impact for the university community. After *Meritor Savings Bank*, a faculty member or administrator accused of sexual harassment could no longer use as a defense the argument that the complainant went along with the alleged harassment.

In previous years, academicians may have felt an element of security, or at least an element of defense, in a consensual relationship with a student. Today, however, with the *Meritor* decision and EEOC guidelines, the defense of consensuality is no longer viable. Administrators at colleges and universities in the United States are urged to take a new look at sexual relationships between faculty or administrators and the students they teach and supervise.

Another significant legal factor is the deference which the court grants to the academic community to make academic decisions, based upon the professional esteem accorded academic administrators and faculty by the courts. With this high regard comes an expectation of professional behavior above reproach. All higher education court cases reviewed in a 1987 study attested to both the deference shown and the expectations required of faculty and administrators by the courts (Little). The power that comes with faculty members' ability to "police" themselves carries with it the obligation to conduct themselves responsibly and the burden of defining the boundaries in their relationships with their students.

After* Meritor Savings Bank, *a faculty member or administrator accused of sexual harassment could no longer use as a defense the argument that the complainant went along with the alleged harassment.

For those who are not moved by implied legal entanglements, it would be wise to enumerate the possible liabilities. There are at least three ways that an institution, administrators or faculty may be held liable in what began as a consensual relationship between an administrator or faculty member and a student.

First, what started out as welcome conduct can become unwelcome, and the student can claim sexual harassment, as in *Korf v. Ball State University* [726 F. 2d 1222 7th Cir. (1984)]. The excuse of equal choice in the sexual relationship does not exist when one party (the teacher or administrator) has power over the other (the student).

Second, the parents of the student may complain to the institution about a "consensual" relationship as in *Naragon v. Wharton* [737 F. 2d 1403 5th Cir. (1984)]. In this case, both the institution and the court viewed this relationship, as reported by parents, as being unprofessional.

Finally, classmates of a student having a sexual relationship with an instructor may claim unequal treatment as a violation of EEOC guidelines. In all three cases, the institution and the administrator or faculty member are vulnerable to a sexual harassment complaint.

Following this appeal based upon the law, it would be well to present an appeal based upon professional ethics. Examples of male and female students who have been sexually exploited can be found on any campus. EEO officers or Deans of Students are often the people who know the stories. Yet, members of the higher education community are largely in agreement that no student should be put in the position of having to drop classes or endure inappropriate attention in order to receive an education. It is particularly important that community college faculty who are, whether by choice or not, strong role models be professional in their conduct.

PROVIDE ADEQUATE BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Surprisingly, many faculty are unaware of this particular problem. There is plenty of good reading material available which should be used to inform them. Of the several court cases which have dealt with sexual harassment in higher education, the one which addresses both the welcomeness of the attention and the professional expectations of faculty is *Korf v. Ball State*. Although decided before *Meritor*, this case is helpful in understanding the legal reasoning on the issue. Of particular interest in this case is the fact that the court allowed Professor Korf's dismissal based upon the American Association of University Professors' "Statement on Professional Ethics," which had been incorporated into Ball State's handbook. The specific statement at issue was that a faculty member

"avoids any exploitation of students for his private advantage." This statement was revised in 1987, and the new version should be included in a reading package.

Other important background readings might include the *Washington Post, Chronicle of Higher Education* and *NEA Higher Education Advocate* articles which are cited in this paper. Several existing policies should also be included as samples. Those of Iowa State University, Washington State University and the University of Michigan offer a good cross-section.

Be certain to include the letter on the subject of appropriate relationships between students and faculty members by Dean Henry Rosovsky to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University, April 1983. Most EEO officers have a copy of this letter, which is one of the first important statements on the issue.

Examples of male and female students who have been sexually exploited can be found on any campus. EEO officers or Deans of Students are often the people who know the stories. Yet, members of the higher education community are largely in agreement that no student should be put in the position of having to drop classes or endure inappropriate attention in order to receive an education.

EXPLAIN HOW COLLEGE CAMPUSES ADDRESS THIS ISSUE

In the 1987 study by this author, cited earlier, sexual harassment policies or codes of ethics which included administrator/faculty-student sexual relationships were re-requested from a randomly selected sample of 118 doctoral-level institutions and 230 baccalaureate-level institutions. Replies were received from eighty-seven doctoral institutions (74 percent of the sample) and 103 baccalaureate institutions (45 percent of the sample). Of these responses, sixteen institutions in both groups had policies or codes of ethics which discussed administrator/faculty-student relationships.

An analysis of the thirty-two responses revealed that policies dealing with administrator/faculty-student relationships were written in one of three forms: (1) included in a sexual harassment policy, (2) included in a code of ethics, or (3) presented in a separate letter or statement to the campus community. The responses from the doctoral institutions came in the form of eight sexual harassment policies, three codes of ethics and five letters or statements. The baccalaureate responses were equally varied, with seven sexual harassment policies, six codes of ethics and three letters or statements. The strength of the prohibition did not depend upon the type of format. In fact, one can find strong or weak positions in all three, and some campuses found a combination of formats to be effective.

OFFER POLICY DEVELOPMENT GUIDELINES

A guide for policy development developed by this author is appended as Figure 1. This guide is arranged so that the user may select the strength of the desired policy statement across five categories. The individual policy that suits any given academic institution is dependent upon the unique characteristics of the institution and its faculty and student population. This guide should make the development of a policy on sexual relations more feasible and practicable.

For example, if an institution wished to adopt a policy simply cautioning the faculty about sexual exploitation of their students, its policy could be developed from the terms at the top of the chart. A moderate policy would be selected from terms in the middle area. A strong policy would come from the bottom row. If an institution wished to mix strong and weak categories, that, too, could be done by an examination across the various possibilities by category.

INVOLVE THE ENTIRE CAMPUS COMMUNITY

Objections to a code of ethics, statement of professional conduct, or statement on appropriate sexual relationships on campus are usually based on a lack of information about the issue. This is why it is extremely important to involve all members of the

campus community in developing the statement. The campus decision-making body (e.g., the Faculty Senate) should be the body to decide on the way in which the campus wishes to state its commitment to professional behavior.

KEEP THE POLICY SIMPLE

Enthusiastic supporters of a policy sometimes urge the decision making body to be very specific as to what is and is not professional. These specific guidelines may be well understood by the group who drew them up, but are often greatly misunderstood by the faculty as a whole. It is far easier to write, defend and interpret a simply worded, broad statement. A slight variation on the AAUP statement should be sufficient. For example, "An administrator or faculty member does not sexually exploit a student or any person he or she supervises for his or her private advantage."

STATE THE PROCESS

There are two major process concerns in an issue such as sexual relationships. One is that the person handling the matter should be discreet and understanding. The person usually specified is the EEO officer on campus. Most problem situations are ended after the EEO officer explains the nature of the concern to the accused party. Normally such action is recorded solely by the EEO officer and is discarded once the situation is resolved. The overwhelming majority of cases are settled informally.

The other process concern, and this is the most frequently cited one, is the nature of the grievance process if a situation is investigated and an informal resolution fails. Although the use of a formal procedure is rare, it is exceedingly important to state the grievance process which is available to the complainant and the accused. On most campuses, students, faculty and administrators are referred to the standard process which has been developed for various serious complaints. This procedure almost always includes due process protections and, thus, satisfies the principal concern of an individual who feels he or she is unjustly accused.

CONCLUSION

The subject of addressing appropriate sexual relationships on campus may sound ominous and sensitive to the uninformed. In actuality, the development of a statement, code or policy dealing with sexual relationships is relatively simple. The key lies in informing the campus community of the nature of the problem and of the simplicity of the resolution. A community college campus without a professional standard of conduct is, in fact, an ominous campus to many of its students and, beyond a doubt, an insensitive institution.

A Guide for Development of a Policy Dealing with Sexual Relationships on College Campuses

STRENGTH OF POLICY	CATEGORIES Who is Prohibited	Relationship Specified	Term Used	Nature of Relationship	Grievance Procedure
Caution	Faculty	Faculty to student	Be sensitive to	Exploitation for private advantage	None
			Not exploit unfairly		
	Faculty, graduate students, tutors, teaching fellows	Faculty to student; Supervisor to employee	Resolve to abstain		Who to call
			Responsibility to avoid conflict	Personal, close	
	Faculty, supervisors	Superior to subordinate	Not appropriate		Standard procedures
			Very unwise	Non-marital sexual relationship	
	Faculty and individuals in authority	Anyone in power position over students and/or employees	No legitimate place		
			Unacceptable		Informal-formal option; standard procedures; discipline specified
	All those with power, authority or control		Shall not	Any sexual relationship	
Condemn					

Dr. Little is an instructor in the Humanities Department at Honolulu Community College in Hawaii. She has served extensively as a consultant on credibility in communication and on professional conduct and sexual harassment law.

REFERENCES

Korf v. Ball State University [726 F. 2d 1222 7th Cir. (1984)].

Little, Doric A. *An Investigation of the Legal Parameters of Policies Dealing with Sexual Relationships in Academe*. Diss. University of Hawaii, Honolulu,1987. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988.

Martin, James and Sheila Murphy. "The Classroom-Bedroom Debate." *Outpost Magazine, Washington Post* (1 Nov. 1987).

McMillen, Liz. "Seeking Balance: Many Colleges Taking a New Look at Policies on Sexual Harassment." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 33 (17 Dec. 1986): 1, 16.

Meritor Savings Bank, FSB v. Vinson [106 S. Ct. 2399 (1986)].

Naragon v. Wharton [737 F. 2d 1403 5th Cir. (1984)].

Rostovsky, Henry. *Letter to Faculty of Arts and Sciences*. Harvard University. April 1983.

Wechsler, Harold, editor. *NEA Higher Education Advocate* 5 (9 May 1988).

THE FEMINIZATION OF (AMERICAN) POVERTY*

Janet K. (Weir) Garza, M.L.S.

Recent federal government statistics reveal that more women than men are now living in poverty. Older women, women of color, and women heads-of-household are most likely to be poor. Wage discrimination, concentration in low-paying and traditionally female jobs, and lack of education continue to contribute to the "feminization of poverty." The author suggests that the cycle of poverty can be broken through improved educational programs and skills development for women. This white paper was commissioned by AAWCJC for presentation at its forum at the 1988 AACJC convention in Las Vegas.

Despite advances in many areas by American women in recent years, one fact looms large. Increasing, women are poor and becoming poorer. Particularly in the last decade, poverty has become feminized. All indications are that the trend will continue.

Women over 14 years of age have made up a significant portion of American poor for many years. In 1976, Bureau of the Census figures revealed that two out of three of the 25 million poor in the United States were female. This was a 39.7 percent increase over the previous seventeen years. By 1986, the poverty level for women, while down from 1976, had stabilized at nearly 62 percent (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *Money*, 1987: 1,5). This 62 percent includes 11 percent White, 30 percent Black, and 27 percent Hispanic women, with nearly 4 out of 10 of all these women aged over 65. Further, the ratio of non-white females, in particular, is increasing disproportionately to white females.

The gender pattern for types of occupations is indisputable. If a job category or occupation has mostly women in it—i.e., it's "women's work,"—the salary is traditionally lower. And, if it is a job dominated by non-white women, the "low" salary is even less.

Why have women become the prime candidates for poverty in America? Many elements are influential. Included are many demographic and socio-economic considerations, as well as components in the labor force, unemployment rates, and child support received.

Before examining factors contributing to the feminization of poverty, we should define what we mean by the "poverty level." In 1986, 32.4 million families had incomes of less than $11,203 and fell into the poverty classification for a family of four. The $11,203 threshold has increased from $10,989 in 1985, $8,382 in 1980, and $5,500 in 1975. For a single person over the age of 15, the poverty level was defined as $5,572 in 1986.

FACTORS AFFECTING POVERTY

Earnings. The earnings of women are the first factor to consider. Pay inequities are a major — perhaps *the* major — cause of the feminization of poverty. This writer surveyed average salaries by occupation and pay inequity within professions and concluded that female-dominated occupations continue to be paid less than equivalently-valued male jobs.

Basically, jobs traditionally dominated by women have low base salaries. These jobs include clerical staff, child care workers, hairdressers, and waitresses. Tabulations from 1985 of the most popular jobs for women are listed in *The Statistical Abstract of the U.S.* (1987: 657). The tabulations reflect a pattern of the female work force concentrated in those jobs which traditionally pay low wages. By comparison, women constitute only 18.2 percent of the lawyers, a field known for high salaries.

This pattern is even clearer when looking at ethnic origin. Hispanic women dominate

*Expression coined by sociologist Diana Pearce in 1978.

occupations such as graders and agricultural workers, housekeepers, electrical assemblers, and sewing machine operators. Asian women have the highest concentration in marine life work, electrical assembly, dressmaking and laundry work, while Native American women are slotted as welfare aides, child care workers, teachers' aides, and forestry workers. Blacks lead as private household workers, cooks, housekeepers, and welfare aides. Principally, white women hold the positions of dental hygienists, secretaries, dental assistants, and occupational therapists (National Committee on Pay Equity, 1987:4).

The gender pattern for types of occupations is indisputable. If a job category or occupation has mostly women in it—i.e., it's "women's work,"—the salary is traditionally lower. And, if it is a job dominated by non-white women, the low salary is even less.

In addition to considering "women's work," we must also analyze pay inequity. There continues to be a significant earnings difference between the salary of American women and the salary of American men performing the same job with similar skills, education, and experience. In essence, our society has a dual wage structure.

Payroll records certify that this disparity existed as far back as 1815. Equally important, these records indicate the pay discrepancy bridged a huge difference of 28.2 to 67 percent; that is, women earned only 28.2 cents to 67 cents for every dollar earned by a male associate. Around 1955, this gap stabilized at 65 percent, but dropped to 60 percent in 1981. The median annual 1981 income of women working full-time was $12,001, or 59.2 percent of men's $20,260 annual wage. In September 1987, the gap grew to 70 percent. Thus over 23 years the discrepancy has narrowed only slightly. Women, instead of earning only 60 cents to the men's dollar, grossed nearly 70 cents (*Casa Grande Dispatch*, 1987).

The picture of pay equity would be incomplete without viewing data on the median salary for non-white females, where the inequality escalates. Most often, non-white women are concentrated in those occupations with the lowest wages. This statement was confirmed by the National Commitee on Pay Equity (NCPE). Their study, *Pay Equity: an Issue of Race, Ethnicity and Sex*, released in February 1987, verified that occupations dominated by non-white women are among the worst paid.

In 1980, non-white women represented about 20 percent of all American females. Black women averaged 12 percent; Hispanics, 6.29 percent; Asiatics and Pacific Islanders, 1.55 percent and Native Americans, Eskimos, and Aleut women, .62 percent (Shortridge, 1986: 14-18). Accordingly, in 1986, one out of every five women workers was experiencing double salary discrimination, based on sex and race.

Furthermore, the NCPE study stated that the annual earnings of female childcare workers was $7,119; however, if these workers had been paid at the same rate as male childcare workers, the women's annual earnings would have been $15,261. That is, a fairly-compensated salary would result in fewer poor women. For female child care workers it would be $4,000 over—not $4,000 under—the poverty level of $11,203. Further, this adjusted salary, which would be double their present wage, would make the difference between living in poverty and living decently for these families. The conclusion is that these workers, often single heads-of-household, earned less because of gender and race.

A fairly-compensated salary would result in fewer poor women... Further, this adjusted salary, which would be double their present wage, would make the difference between living in poverty and living decently for these families.

In addition to concentration in low-salary jobs and pay inequity, there is another added weight around the neck of many female employees: limited opportunities for advancement. In female-dominated occupations, or pink-collar jobs, there are many more general workers than there are positions on the upward ladder of employment. And, it is not unusual for the few men in these occupations to be promoted into those few positions of advancement. The result is that most women remain near the bottom of the salary scale.

thus keeping down women's average wages. These low wages are apparent when looking at the median weekly earnings of full-time, female workers from 1980 to 1985: $201 in 1980; $252 for 1983; $265 for 1984; and $277 In 1985: (*Statistical Abstract*, 1987: 680). The pay inequity, between females and males is obvious when comparing this data with the median weekly salaries of full-time male employees over the same timeframe: $312, $378, $391, and $406 for the respective years. That is a $129 gap between men's and women's average weekly salaries in 1985. Looking back to 1981, 64 percent of all workers who earned only $7,000-$10,000 were women. This disparity in earnings has caused a lack of buying power for women and, in turn, has contributed significantly to the feminization of poverty in America.

Family Status. Another ingredient in the feminization of poverty is family status. More specifically, we must examine the number of women not in a traditional family situation, but on their own and self-supporting. A 1987 federal report provided insurmountable evidence that more women are living alone and the number of single-female-headed households is increasing.

Today, more women than ever are living alone because they are divorced, widowed, single or separated. In 1985, of all women over 15 years of age, on an average, 18.2 percent were single, 2.6 percent were separated, 12.6 percent were widowed and 9.3 percent were divorced. These figures accounted for 42.7 percent of all American women (*Statistical Abstract*, 1987: 44). By 1986, the number of single females had more than doubled the 1968 figure of 8,473,000. And, a 1987 Department of Commerce report on population characteristics stated: "About 12.9 million, or 61 percent, of the 21.1 million persons living alone were women (*Households, Families*, 1986: 6; 1987: 1,3).

Other data from the national census support these figures. The data showed that, for American women, marriage is not always permanent, and the number of self-supporting women will increase, with many coming from the "once married" group. In 1985, divorced women accounted for 9.3 percent of all American females; these numbers rose from 8.5 percent in 1981. Further, the 1981 percentage had doubled since 1970. This escalation of divorces holds across ethnic lines as well, with 11 percent of Black and 8 percent of Hispanic marriages ending in divorce in 1985.

The census report also showed the number of female-headed households with no spouse present has increased enormously. The 1980 census established that one in 10 of all families were female-headed (Shortridge, 1986: 91), with an increase to one in five by 1985. Unfortunately, many of these female-headed families are more poverty stricken than in previous decades.

Obviously, the more education one acquires, the more likely one is to be employed and employed full-time... Clearly, the American system rewards educational attainment monetarily.

The governmental data shows a "more poverty stricken" trend: in 1975 when the median income was $6,844 and the poverty level for four was $5,500, some 32.5 percent of female-headed families lived below the poverty level (*Statistical Abstract*, 1980: 773; 1987: 737). Looking at 1985 figures when the median income was $13,000 and tbe poverty level for four was $10,989, 34 percent of female-headed households were below the poverty level (*Poverty in The U.S.*, 1986: 1).

The failure of the minimum wage to keep up with price increases is also another albatross around the neck of female employees. In 1979, a full-time job at minimum wage could sustain a small family above poverty. Nine years later, this was not so. Since January 1981, the minimum wage has not been adjusted for inflation. Currently, a full-time job at minimum wage equals only 61 percent of the poverty level for a family of four.

The plight of America's poor women becomes even more tragic when one analyzes the number of poor families headed by non-white females. In 1980, one of every 1.67 female-headed households living below the

TABLE 1
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT FOR FEMALES BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1985
- percent of Population completing -

Level of education	All races	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
less than 5 yrs of education:	2.5%	13.4%	2.1%	2.1%
4 yrs of high school:	41.3%	29.5%	35.5%	42.4%
1-3 yr of college:	16.2%	10.6%	14.3%	16.3%
4 yr of college:	16.0%	7.3%	11.0%	16.3%
Median years completed:	12.6	11.3	12.3	12.6

Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Statistical Abstract, 1987: 198-199.

poverty level was Black or Hispanic. Viewing the Black experience, government data disclose that in 1985, 73 percent of Black female-headed families were poor (*Poverty in The U.S.*, 1986: 6). Hispanic women also have relatively low earnings. Their 1982 median wages of $6,700 were about 62 percent of Hispanic men's salaries. Their salary averaged $ 4,733 or 27 percent of men's in 1980 (Fernandez, 1985: 5). while Asian women had a slightly higher wage in 1980 of $6,685 (Taeuber, 1987: 30-31).

Too often, income and quality of life possible in a household headed by a female is severelv limited. Children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren can easily be locked into a cycle of poverty because these mothers make only meager wages and cannot provide basic needs.

EDUCATION ATTAINED

The education of American women is the final factor examined in this paper. Obviously, the more education one acquires, the more likely one is to be employed and employed full-time. In addition, the higher the educational level, the greater the opportunity to be employed in a position with a higher base salary and additional career options. Clearly, the American system rewards educational attainment monetarily.

Table 1, "Education Attainment for Females bv Ethnic Origin, 1985," demonstrates that many women — nearly 60 percent — do not complete high school. Examining these percentages by ethnicity and/or race shows that almost one in seven Hispanic females have less than five years of education. This is an even more revealing factor when you consider that more Hispanics are breaking tradition by divorcing.

The disaster of women not having a high school diploma is indicated in Table 2, which presents female-heads-of-household, 1985 poverty level, with less than twelve years of education by ethnic background. For Hispanics the correlation is not unexpected when that only 29.5 percent of these women complete high school.

TABLE 2
LESS THAN 12 YEARS COMPLETED
AND POVERTY, FEMALE, 1985
- poverty level for four, $ 10,989 -

APPROXIMATED	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
median earnings:	$7,258	$9,099	$16,900
below poverty			
single	32.8%	(NA)	(NA)
household head:	51.2%	app. 35%	app. 14.5%

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1982: 43.

Analysis shows that, in 1985, over 50 percent of all poverty-status female householders had not graduated from high school. This compares with 23 percent of all male and female family householders above the poverty level. For 1985, the poverty rate was 21 percent for all families whose head did not complete high school; 10 percent for those who completed high school and 4 percent for those with one year or more of college education. It should be noted that there are disparities for categories within the educated population. As an example, for those with high school diplomas, 8 percent of whites and 15 percent of Hispanic families had incomes below the poverty level but 25 percent of Black families lived in poverty (*Poverty in the U.S.*, 1986: 7).

CONCLUSION

What are the financial implications of the increase in the number of American women who are single and heading households? What will happen if women continue to be slotted in dead-end, low-paying jobs? What does an income gap of 30 to 50 percent mean in terms of the economic status of women, especially for those one in five women who head families? These facts mean that women, and the children they support, are poor. They mean that poverty is becoming a woman's misfortune. Poverty has become, and will continue to be, feminized . . . unless we break the cycle by educating American women.

Society must provide incentives that allow women to gain knowledge and skills leading to better paying careers. Safe, adequate, extended-hours, affordable child- and elder-care services are needed to permit women, many of whom support children and parents, to pursue education. In the community, local services which support women should be available.

In particular, educators should: foster non-sexist environments from kindergarten on; promote career awareness in non-traditional fields; listen attentively to female students; expand school hours and have flexible programs for students who are employed and/or for mothers; assure equal access to and time on computers and high-technology equipment; develop plans to interest female students in science, advanced math courses and vocational courses and, above all, be "affirmative" mentors who actively assist female students to reach their full potential. American women must learn in order to earn.

Janet (Weir) Garza is Associate Director of Public Services, Learning Resources Center, Signal Peak Campus, Central Arizona College. She presented a longer version of this material as a white paper commissioned by the AAWCJC for the April 1988 AACJC convention in Las Vegas.

REFERENCES

Edelman, Marian Wright. *Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Fernandez, Edward W. and Carmen DeNavas. *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1982*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Populations Characteristics. Series P-20, No. 396. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

"Income Comparisons." *University of Michigan Alumni Census Report* (1987): 2-3.

Lekfowitz, Rochelle and Ann Withorn, editors. *For Crying Out Loud: Women and Poverty in the United States*. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1986.

Lein, Laura. *The Child Day Care Crisis in Texas: An Introduction to the Problem*. Austin, Texas: United Way of Texas - Child Care Working Group, 1986.

REFERENCES (Continued)

National Committee on Pay Equity. *Pay Equity: An Issue of Race, Ethnicity And Sex*. Washington DC: National Committee on Pay Equity, 1987.

Schick, Frank L., editor. *Statistical Handbook on Aging Americans*. Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1986.

Shortridge, Barbara Gimla. *Atlas of American Women*. New York: MacMillan, 1986.

Smith, J.P. *Women's Wages and Work in the Twentieth Century*. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, 1984.

Spencer, Gregory. *Projections of the Populations of the United States, By Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Current Populations Reports. Population Estimates and Projections Series P-25, No. 952. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984.

Taeuber, Cynthia M. and Victor Valdisera. *Women in the American Economy*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Special Studies Series P-23, No. 146. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. *Unemployment and Underemployment Among Blacks, Hispanics, and Women*. Clearing House Publication 74. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1986 and 1987 (Advance Report)*. Bureau of the Census. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957; a Statistical Abstract Supplement*. Bureau of the Census. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Households, Families, Marital Status, and Living Arrangements: 1986 Advance Report and 1987 Advance Report*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics Series P-20, No. 412. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987, 1988.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1986*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics Series P-20, No. 418. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1986 Advance Report*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Consumer Income Series P-60. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Poverty in the United States 1985*. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports. Consumer Income Series P-60, No. 158. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Bureau of the Census. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980, 1984, 1987.

U.S. Department of Labor. *Time of Change*. Women's Bureau. Washington. DC: U.S. Printing Office, 1983.

Weir, Janet K. (Garza). "Pay Equity: the Earning Gap Continues." Paper presented at the meeting of American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges. Honolulu, August 1987.

Weitzman. Lenore J. *The Divorce Revolution: The Unexpected Social and Economic Consequences for Women and Children in America*. New York: The Free Press, n.d.

Willborn, Steven L. *A Comparable Worth Primer*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1986.

"Women Paid 70 Cents for Men's $1." *Casa Grande Dispatch* (AZ) 3 September 1987: 1.

Wright, John W. *The American Almanac of Jobs and Salaries. New York: Avon, 1987.*

MOMENT

She was never a student of mine
she used to sit, listen, study, eat, and talk
in the quiet comfort
of the long, large couch placed beneath
a hanging birchbark canoe
in the American Indian Center

She was not
as far as I could ascertain
a tribal member
But she was one of the few
non-Indian students to frequent the center
just as I was one of the few
faculty members to visit there
on a regular - almost daily - basis

I remember that she was married
with one, maybe two, young children
she came from a desperately impoverished
northern Wisconsin mill town
an abandoned, haunted four corners
the "company" had left the families

She traveled about forty miles each way
to enter the community college doors
she carried some hopes along with her
I know very little beyond that
except
she once shared her considerable joy
over winning a plastic ice cooler
filled with cans of New Coke
through a corporate campus promotion of some sort
It was the one time I saw her smile and laugh

I did not know her name
when she slithered into my office
on a late morning in spring

Holding on
to the metal file cabinets
slowly moving
gripping
Finally
grasping the unforgiving office chair

She could not speak

She cried
and cried
and cried
and cried
Her body shook with the pain of consuming sadness

I handed out tissues
I held her
She clung to me in panic
We cried together
I repeated some words that I do not recall
She wiped her tears, coughed, choked, and cried
I did not meet with my noon American History class

I asked her to pick up the phone
to make a decision to call
she had to act
it seemed a requirement

I drove her, walked her, talked to her
and waited
outside the door
to a locked ward
in a small Catholic hospital.

SUSAN DION
©1988
All rights reserved

Ms. Dion has seven years' experience in community colleges and held a Smith Family Fellowship through Marquette University in Milwaukee.

A CALL FOR PAPERS
ABOUT WOMEN IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

The JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES invites articles for publication in its 1990 issue. Articles are welcome on topics such as:

Women's Studies Programs... Personal and Professional Development... Women in the Technologies... Family Issues for Women Students and Women Workers... Ethnic Women's Issues... Affirmative Action... Mentoring... Fostering Leadership... Learning Styles... Gender Topics in the Curriculum... Women, Aging and American Society... Community College Management... Book Reviews.

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF ARTICLES—**NOVEMBER 15, 1989**

Inquiries or articles for submission to:

Dr. Leila González Sullivan
8 Clinton Ave.
Maplewood, NJ 07040
(201) 714-2112 or
(201) 761-5281

AAWCJC JOURNAL
Manuscript Preparation Guide

The Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges welcomes articles of interest to community, junior and technical college personnel. Publishing policy and selection of articles are governed by the editorial objectives and criteria listed below.

EDITORIAL OBJECTIVES

1. To publish articles of general interest to staff and students in community, junior and technical colleges.

2. To present research, model programs and teaching/learning strategies related to women staff and students in these colleges.

3. To provide a forum for discussion of critical reports, innovative ideas and controversial issues related to women in higher education, particularly in community, junior and technical colleges.

4. To disseminate information on leadership training opportunities for women and on the accomplishments of women in these colleges.

5. To serve as an advocate for equity and excellence in community, junior and technical college education.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF ARTICLES

1. Material should be original, accurate and in good form editorially, and proper attribution should be given for material from other sources.

2. The manuscript should be current and informative, summarizing basic facts and conclusions and maintaining coherence and unity of thought.

3. Controversial topics should be presented in a factually sound and reasonably unbiased manner.

4. Each manuscript will be acknowledged on receipt. All submissions will be reviewed by the editorial board, and the board's decision regarding articles to be published is final.

Authors will be notified regarding the board's decision as soon as possible. Manuscripts will be returned upon request from the author.

PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

1. Manuscripts should not exceed 3,000 words, or about 10-12 double-spaced typed pages.

2. The *MLA Handbook*, second edition (1984) should be used for references in the text and bibliography.

3. Tables and charts should be clear, comprehensible and as brief as possible.

4. Descriptions of projects for which financial support, such as a grant, was received should include acknowledgement of that support either in a subtitle or in a footnote.

5. The manuscript must include a cover page giving the article title, author's name, author's title and institution, and an abstract of no more than 100 words.

6. Submit manuscripts to:

Dr. Leila González Sullivan
AAWCJC Vice President for
Communications
8 Clinton Avenue
Maplewood, NJ 07306

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

AAWCJC is guided in all of its endeavors by a firm commitment to equity and excellence in education and employment for women in community, junior and technical colleges. That commitment is translated into action at the national, regional, state and local levels through AAWCJC programs, activities and services developed and offered in accordance with the following principles:

1. The achievement of equity for women is critical to the wise and just development and use of valuable human resources.

2. Equity is promoted through AAWCJC's efforts to improve access to:

   educational opportunities;

   employment at all levels;

   policy-making and decision-making forums.

3. Equity issues may include career upward-mobility, comparable pay for comparable work, increased involvement of women on governing bodies, and appropriate support services for adult women enrolled in two-year colleges.

4. Commitment to equity must be matched by an equally strong commitment to educational and professional excellence.

5. Excellence is promoted through AAWCJC's efforts to:

   encourage and reward educational achievement and professional endeavor;

   provided opportunities for professional development;

   develop linkages and disseminate information pertaining to specific concerns.

6. Both equity and excellence may be enhanced through a strong and effective network of women in community, junior and technical colleges—a network where a purposeful focus on tasks, issues and achievements is continually matched by a sensitive concern for people.

FOR MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION, CONTACT:

National Mail Service
2907 N. Main Street
Anderson, SC 29621
(803) 226-5566

ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges JUL 21 1989